THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 166 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • APRIL 17, 1948 NUMBER 16

The Shape of Things

ALTHOUGH COLOMBIA HAS BEEN UNTIL recently one of the most stable, well-governed republics in South America, it suffers from the endemic disease that infects them all: its masses are miserably poor and shamefully exploited. The Liberal Party, which held power for sixteen years—until 1946, when it split and allowed the conservative candidate to win the Presidency—put through some needed reforms, but it did not bring a decent life to the people. Discontent mounted, and Jorge Eliécer Gaitán, leader of the party's left wing in 1946 and head of the party after the split was healed, became the hero of Colombia's "forgotten man." Tension increased, and riots and political assassinations have multiplied in recent months. Gaitán, who had been chosen Liberal candidate for President in 1950, demanded police protection for his followers and finally, failing to get satisfaction, withdrew the Liberals from the coalition Cabinet. By the time the inter-American conference assembled, an all-Conservative government ruled a restless, uneasy population.

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AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, THE TRAGIC outburst of last week-end is not hard to understand. The assassination of Gaitán was a lighted match dropped into an open gasoline tin. The government's charge that Communists manipulated the whole affair, presumably to wreck the conference, had better be regarded with skepticism until some proof is produced. Colombia has very few Communists, and the outburst gave every appearance of fierce, unorganized spontaneity. As we go to press, the country is under martial law and a bi-party Cabinet is in process of formation. Disorders are being put down ruthlessly. But repression will not end the unrest of the people or bring their beloved leader to life, though the suspended conference may possibly be able to resume deliberations. Whether it does or not, the Bogotá rising has given the delegates a laboratory demonstration of Latin American discontent in explosive action. If only Mr. Marshall and his colleagues would take the trouble to analyze the underlying meaning of the trouble—and of similar trouble brewing in several nearby republics—they might get farther in their effort to build a hemispheric front against communism. It won't be accomplished by resolutions at Bogotá or repressions in each country.

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INDIANA APPEARS TO BE WORKING HARD for Henry Wallace. Until the third-party candidate hit that state, his protests that his followers were being intimidated had a hollow ring. But now the cities of Evansville and Indianapolis have provided evidence that will serve him well as campaign ammunition. The meeting he addressed at Evansville had to be held under police protection, which proved inadequate to prevent a riotous attack and the shameful slugging of two members of his campaign staff. Dr. George Parker, chairman of a county committee for Wallace, was discharged from the faculty of Evansville College for "political activities both on and off the campus." And the hotels of Indianapolis refused to admit the candidate's party when the State Adjutant General denounced "certain individuals" who were scheduled to address a mass meeting in his behalf. This brazen intolerance should be denounced in the strongest terms by every citizen who cares about political freedom. President Truman told a press conference that he deplored these violations of civil liberties, as well as a recent mob raid on the home of a Communist leader in Ohio, but that they were matters to be taken up with local officials. We believe the circumstances call for more than a shoddy legalism, especially from the man who has presented to Congress a detailed and far-reaching program for protecting civil rights. Mr. Truman, and leading Republican presidential candidates, would do well to adopt the suggestion of Walter Reuther to go on the air and remind Americans of those elementary rules of fair play and political freedom which appear to have been forgotten in Indiana.

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AT THIS WRITING, IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO SAY what is behind the sudden entrance of Speaker Joseph W. Martin into the deadlocked coal situation. If the strike is settled by the time this issue of *The Nation* appears, we shall be as relieved as the rest of the country, which appears otherwise to face a paralysis in industry

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The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1948, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $6; Two years $10; Three years $14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

and communications far out of proportion to the merits of the miners' pension demands, legitimate as we believe them to be. Nevertheless, we think the country is entitled to know the details of what has all the earmarks of a political deal. The alacrity with which Mr. Lewis accepted Senator Bridges of New Hampshire as the third trustee for the miners' pension fund is remarkable, to say the least, in view of the Senator's consistently sour record on labor issues, including support of the Taft-Hartley act. We have no reason to go so far as one of the coal operators who, on learning of the agreement in Martin's office, remarked on the "awful strong smell," but we cannot help combining this observation with the comment of Senator McGrath of Rhode Island. According to the chairman of the Democratic National Committee, Mr. Lewis has been enabled to "extricate himself from his predicament" through "the cooperation of some members of the legislative branch of the government, thereby setting a dangerous precedent that makes more difficult the execution of the laws of Congress by the executive branch." In other words, the Republican Party rescues the country from a grave industrial threat, thus adding to its prestige at the expense of the Administration; Mr. Martin, perhaps, is advanced in his increasingly marked political ambitions; what Mr. Lewis gets, besides pensions for the miners, remains to be seen. As for the Taft-Hartley act itself, it is spared a pragmatic test that would reveal it in all its bankruptcy, since whatever the courts might decide to do to Mr. Lewis they could not enjoin the individual miner to return to the pit.

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THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN CONGRESS AND the Administration over the Condon loyalty file may be viewed both as an immediate issue involving justice to Dr. Condon and as a threat to the whole broad principle of the separation of powers. We can see little merit in the position of those Congressmen who wish to compel Secretary of Commerce Harriman to hand over the confidential dossier which cleared Dr. Condon of any question of disloyalty. Agreeing with the preponderant opinion of the American press, we believe the House Un-American Activities Committee has already done enough damage, not merely to Dr. Condon but to the government, which will find it increasingly difficult to retain the services of scientists as long as they can be hectored and maligned by mischievous politicians. Having publicly branded the head of the National Bureau of Standards as "one of the weakest links in our atomic security," the committee is now ready to examine the evidence and hear the accused, a privilege expressly denied him before. But apart from the blatant misconduct of the committee, the question arises whether its demand is not one more instance of the increasing tendency of Congress to poach on the preserves of the

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executive branch of government. It is the function of Congress to make the laws and of the Executive to carry them out. In the exercise of its responsibility, the latter must be the judge of its own personnel, except as the law provides for Senatorial confirmation and for impeachment procedure. Dr. Condon has been duly investigated and cleared by the machinery, including the FBI, set up in the executive branch to make certain of the loyalty of its employees. For a House committee to sit in judgment again is not only to subject Dr. Condon to a form of double jeopardy but to deprive the President of the right to hold his appointees responsible to himself rather than to any capricious Congressman who may happen to be on the hunt for a headline.

*

ONE OF THE WELL-MEANT EFFORTS OF THE United States mission in Greece has been to restore some semblance of free trade-union activities. To this end, it attached to its staff Clinton S. Golden, an experienced American labor leader. Golden worked for almost a year in Greece, talking to officials and trade-unionists—such as he could lay hands on—and encouraging negotiations between unions and employers. The government crowd apparently did its best to convince Golden he was getting somewhere. At any rate, he put out an astonishing statement before he left Greece to the effect that "the present government" was "dealing fairly with the Greek trade unions"; this, in face of the systematic repression of independent labor organizations and labor leaders during the two and a half years prior to his arrival. Golden apparently pinned his chief hopes on the congress of the General Confederation of Labor scheduled for the end of March. This meeting was intended to demonstrate to the whole world, and especially to the Balkan peoples, that Greek labor was free, under the aegis of America, to hold its congress without intimidation or official interference. It would have been a fine bit of strategy if Mr. Golden's premise had been correct. Unfortunately, neither the Greek government nor the hand-picked "labor" men in control of the congress had any intention of backing this innocent American idea. After a series of sessions marked by trickery, bribes, and strong-arm tactics, the congress ended last week in a fight between two extreme-rightist government stooges for the job of general secretary. The maneuver of the Americans has blown up in their faces, as it was destined to do, and nobody has been helped but the Royalist gang and the Greek Communists.

*

THE *NEW REPUBLIC* IS BEING PICKETED BY the I. W. W. because it published an article by Wallace Stegner "slandering" Joe Hill and then printed only three letters of protest. The pickets are demanding that Michael Straight and Henry Wallace retract the *New Republic's* defamation of an innocent workingman, and they say they will continue picketing at least until all the letters of protest are printed. Song and story tell us that Joe Hill—"wobbly," working stiff, and singer of songs about the workers which he made up himself—was "murdered by the state of Utah" and the "copper bosses" in 1915, on a framed-up charge of having killed a grocer in a holdup. Mr. Stegner tried to discover the actual facts in the case and published his findings in the *New Republic* for January 5. It is Mr. Stegner's considered opinion that Joe Hill probably did kill the grocer; he likewise expresses strong doubts that Hill was arrested, framed, and executed merely because he was a militant wobbly. We found the piece interesting but we doubt whether the legendary figure of Joe Hill can or even should be discredited by the disclosure of the failings of a mere man, Joe Hillstrom, who happened to be turned to legendary use. Such figures are not disposed of so easily. We are not surprised that wobblies, who are legendary themselves, have appeared before the *New Republic's* door. We shan't be surprised, either, to hear that Joe Hill is among them.

The Stassen Formula

ENCOURAGED as we are by the double-play that picked off Dewey and MacArthur in Wisconsin, we are managing to keep our optimism well within bounds. The net result of the primary in that state was all to the good in view of the possibilities offered, but there seems to us no excuse for regarding it as an upsurge of progressive sentiment.

In the first place, the margin of Harold Stassen's victory over General MacArthur was a great deal less than the distribution of delegates would indicate. Stassen's leading delegate-at-large polled only 22,000 more votes than MacArthur's out of a total of 450,000, and the General had no trouble winning three out of four contests in the city of Milwaukee. In view of the weeks of intensive personal campaigning put in by Stassen and the majestic silence of MacArthur, some six thousand miles from the scene of action, the popular margin of victory was less than stunning, even allowing for the predictions of experts that the General would win on the strength of his prestige.

More significant, perhaps, is the fact that Stassen can hardly be said to have made a liberal campaign. The demagogic streak which he revealed when he proposed withholding E. R. P. aid from countries resorting to socialism was considerably in evidence, particularly in his threats to outlaw the Communist Party and to clean up the Communist concentration in New York, a calculated dig at rival candidate Thomas E. Dewey. He also made a point of attacking the Truman Administration for fail-

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ing to cut off trade with Russia, and repeated his support of the Taft-Hartley act, though he would amend it to permit the closed shop.

If liberalism was not the issue in Wisconsin, nor isolationism—Dewey's position was no more isolationist than Stassen's and he came in a poor third—what did the vote signify? First, we believe, it showed what scarcely needed demonstration, to wit, the advantage of being backed by a well-oiled political machine. In most parts of the country Stassen has no such support, but in Wisconsin he was the favorite of the Coleman organization, an instrument of orthodox Republicanism if ever there was one. As such, he enjoyed the support of dubious statesmen like Senator Joseph McCarthy, who voted to reduce the scale of E. R. P. and has been all too influential in blocking decent housing legislation. So clear was Stassen's link to the Coleman machine that Phil La Follette, running as a MacArthur delegate, used it as an argument to win progressives over to the General's candidacy.

Apart from organizational backing, Stassen owes his victory to his own dynamic and concentrated campaigning. Whatever his position, he did talk issues, and with an apparent frankness that was obviously effective. He spoke in every city of consequence in the state, answered questions freely, and pressed his rivals to debate. MacArthur, on the other hand, had to rely on the vaporizing put forward on his behalf by William Randolph Hearst, remnants of the America First Committee, and Phil La Follette—a combination that would handicap any candidate. Dewey, surprised by MacArthur's willingness to run, entered the campaign only when it was too late, and then made no effort to adopt Stassen's barnstorming technique.

Whether the type of campaign he waged or the blessing of the state machine was the dominant factor in Stassen's victory may be more readily determined after the Nebraska primary, which will have been held by the time this issue reaches its readers. In that state it is Taft that has the support of the Republican organization, run by the arch-reactionary Senator Butler. If Stassen does anything like as well in Nebraska as he did in Wisconsin, the effectiveness of his personal and open style of campaigning will be proved beyond dispute. The corollary of which is that American voters are more interested in issues than orthodox politicians would like to believe.

KEITH HUTCHISON sailed last week for England, where he will spend several months assessing the Labor government and writing a series of special articles for this magazine. While he is abroad, his regular page, Everybody's Business, will be suspended; George Soule, formerly an editor of the New Republic, *will fill in as editorial writer in the field ordinarily covered by Mr. Hutchison.*

Mr. Hoffman's New Business

THE choice of Paul G. Hoffman as Economic Cooperation Administrator is either an excellent or a poor one, according to one's conception of the job to be done. There are apparently two kinds of purposes, mutually incompatible, in the selection of a business executive for the job, as there are in the provisions of the Foreign Assistance Act itself.

The basic idea of E. R. P.—the only one which makes sense—is that Europe is to prepare itself to become an independent, competent, and self-governing economy, with such temporary help from the United States as is necessary. To this end, it must approach economic unification and carry out a planned increase in production. The output must be of a sort which will boost exports without correspondingly enlarging imports, meanwhile affording the population a steady though unavoidably slow recovery to decent living standards.

When the process is completed, Western Europe will no longer be dependent on loans or subsidies from the United States, as it has been ever since World War I, owing to the loss of foreign investments. Europe needs the initial resources to carry out this great reversal, but the undertaking is one calling for effort and resourcefulness on the part of the European peoples themselves.

The other idea of E. R. P. is that it is a sort of trap for unwary and innocent Americans against which shrewd protection is required. In charity and in order to keep a decadent Europe from going red, we ought to do a little something, but we must make sure that we don't give too much. If only Europeans had not gone in for socialism, but had imitated American private enterprise, they would not be in trouble; therefore, we must throw our influence against nationalization of industry and governmental planning. To placate fears of this sort, the bill is peppered with safeguards which it is the duty of the Administrator to interpret and apply, under a necessarily wide discretion.

Obviously, a skilled executive is required to administer the plan in so far as the role of the United States extends, but the demand for a big-business executive arose not merely from recognition of this fact, but also in part from the pinch-penny and political view of the undertaking. American politicians who think in parochial terms seem to regard able business men as people who do not like economic planning, who exercise arbitrary command over all activities under their jurisdiction, and who are extremely reluctant to spend money, regardless of the nature of the expenditure.

No great modern business could be run on such principles, much less a far-sighted international undertaking.

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If Mr. Hoffman should insist on dictating in detail the expenditures of each of the sixteen cooperating European nations (plus China, Greece, and Turkey), if all decisions were channeled through his office and closely scrutinized for possible skullduggery, there would be erected a bureaucratic machine of such gargantuan dimensions and complexity that its very paper work would choke the trade channels of half the world. If he objected to autonomous administration or vetoed governmental planning, not only on a national but on an international scale, he would make sure that no sum contributed by the United States, however great, could possibly accomplish the main object of the spending. If he acted as a guardian in Europe of private enterprise, American model, he would effectively obstruct the efforts at self-help of democratic Europeans and would pass the ball unerringly to the Communists.

It is inconceivable that a man with the training and the education in the requirements of the existing crisis possessed by Mr. Hoffman would be a party to any such folly. He will need talents of the highest order to handle the major decisions which properly will lie within the scope of his responsibility. He will also require political tact and a considerable educational skill to show the meaning of some of the facts, as they become apparent, to the reluctant members of Congress. He can be trusted, if he lives up to his reputation, to safeguard American interests by doing everything in his power to assist true recovery elsewhere in the world.

Cripps's First Budget

THE British Treasury, like our own, has a large surplus for the fiscal year 1947-48, and expects a still larger one in 1948-49. It would have been possible, therefore, for the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Stafford Cripps, to have won easy plaudits by announcing considerable tax reductions when he presented his budget to the House of Commons last week. Unlike our Congressmen, he resisted the temptation. In Britain, as in the United States, the danger of inflation remains grave, and Cripps's first objective has been to make the budget a counter-inflationary force. He recognized, in other words, the functional rôle of fiscal policy in an economy; by contrast, the Republican leadership of Congress has recently shown that its fiscal planning is essentially political.

For the twelve months ending March 31, Britain had a gross surplus of $2,630,000. The comparable figure in the budget for the current year is $3,112,000 and, even after allowing for abnormal receipts and expenditures, there should be a net surplus of $1,320,000, equal to more than 10 per cent of anticipated expenditure. This result is made possible partly by reduced expenditure, but a more important factor is Cripps's refusal to provide for any lightening of the total tax burden.

What he does propose to do is to redistribute the load to some extent with a view to stimulating production. Higher exemptions, together with an increased allowance for earned incomes, will afford relief to the middle and lower brackets. This will provide some compensation for frozen wages and, at the same time, reduce the temptation to absenteeism offered by a combination of steep withholding-tax rates and limited objectives for expenditure.

A similar purpose inspires the cut-rate tax which will in future apply to overtime pay, and the special exemption on the earnings of married women offered as an inducement to take jobs in industry. A rescheduling of the purchase tax with lower rates on non-luxury items, estimated to provide the equivalent of an average 10 per cent price-cut on $20,000,000,000 worth of goods annually, should do something to ease the lot of the domestic budgeter. Against this must be set increased excises on such popular "luxuries" as cigarettes, spirits, and beer, all of which are already taxed to the hilt. The Chancellor's avowed intention is to reduce the consumption of such goods, which either necessitate expenditure of Britain's scarce dollars or can be exported for dollars.

Roughly, the aggregate effect of all these changes should be to strengthen incentives to work and save among wage and salary earners without adding to total purchasing power and so increasing inflationary pressure. Up to this point, the Chancellor seems to have won general approval for his proposals. But the Tory opposition and press turned on him sharply when he brought forward his one innovation—a levy on unearned income. This is a graduated tax, starting at 10 per cent on income derived from securities and real estate amounting to $1,000 and rising to 50 per cent on $20,000 and upwards, which will be paid only by those with income from all sources exceeding $8,000. Since it is additional to ordinary income and surtax, which together take 85 per cent or more of the highest incomes, it will mean that those in the top brackets must pay to the Treasury more than their current income for 1948. It is, in fact, a capital levy and, as such, is to be for one year only.

Naturally, this impost is being denounced as an effort to punish the rich, and the Labor government is accused of taking a sadistic pleasure in tightening the thumbscrews. Actually, its intention is to check expenditure by those who, despite heavy income taxes, have been able to secure more than a fair share of goods by using capital gains—never taxed in Britain—as a supplement to income. The new levy should also have other advantageous results. It will discourage divided increases, and so add to corporate funds for investment, and it will tend to deflate the inflated security and real-estate

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markets, since affected tax-payers will have to realize on property.

As a one-shot capital levy, the unearned-income tax cannot be considered unduly burdensome. Assuming an average return on capital of 4 percent, it amounts to some 2 per cent on the largest fortunes. This hardly seems to justify the *Wall Street Journal's* editorial description of it as "another step . . . toward the abolition of private capital . . . confiscation with a vengeance." Compared to the maximum 25-per-cent tax on long-term capital gains in this country—a generally accepted fiscal institution—the new British levy seems to us rather mild.

Why I Oppose U. M. T.

BY HAROLD TAYLOR

THE events of the past two weeks, both here and abroad, have left many of us whose work lies in colleges and universities, with a feeling of desperation. The values for which we stand and which we are trying to teach our students are now critically threatened by the struggle for power between two military and political giants. Our feeling of desperation comes from facing each day a series of crisis situations over which we have no apparent control and to which our students and we ourselves seem unable either to adjust or to apply remedies. How do we explain to American students what they could or should do about Czechoslovakia? Palestine? Italy? Finland?

The United States government has answered these questions by saying, "Join the army." The answer contradicts everything we have been trying to teach about the United Nations and the moral and political leadership of the United States in world affairs. The defeat of liberalism as a political and social force, already spectacular throughout the world, represents a bewildering demand to young Americans to give up rational and moral attitudes toward the solution of world conflicts. For now we are being asked to believe, both by Russia and the United States, that only the threat and use of national military power operated outside the structure of the United Nations can bring about a stable world order.

I cannot believe it, and I wish to write humbly and carefully on behalf of students and teachers, whose political power is slight but whose concern is with moral values, to plead for other ways of bringing order and justice. The question of military training is actually that of whether or not there is any way of organizing world peace other than by threatening to fight Russia.

I believe that the immediate imposition of selective service and of universal military training in the United States would do considerable damage to the possibilities of peace, would inhibit international action through the United Nations, and would commit this country inescapably to a unilateral foreign policy resting on military force, not enlightened political and social leadership.

I do not argue that we should appease Russia, or that Russia's expanding power does not endanger our freedom and that of other countries, or that in our present situation we can allow our military force to become weak. I do argue, however, that selective service and military training are unnecessary for our total strength in carrying out democratic aims, dangerous extensions of a nationalistic foreign policy, and that they will do nothing to stop Russia which cannot be done with our present power. We do not need more arms and men. We do need a clear policy for Europe which the Europeans can understand as a positive solution to inflation, inequality, starvation, and confusion. We need social and economic action which will meet the needs of a destitute Europe. Any armed forces which are required should be internationally controlled.

The basic argument against military training is that the whole concept of victory through national military power is obsolete, since it is an accepted fact that another world war means the destruction of civilization as we know it. This is as true for Russia as for ourselves. At this moment, there are many who believe with President Truman that we can contain communism in Europe by threatening to fight the Russians, in spite of the fact that such threats have had no effect in the past upon either Europeans or Russians.

A military-training program and a selective-service installation will not now frighten Russia or Europe, since our vast material power is commonly recognized abroad. An intensified military program which provided the material basis for a militaristic foreign policy would commit us in the long run either to destroy Europe and our-

HAROLD TAYLOR, president of Sarah Lawrence College, was appointed to that post in 1945 at the age of 31. He had previously been an assistant professor of philosophy at the University of Wisconsin, and a research associate in psychology for the Office of Scientific Research and Development. In this article, he takes the negative in a discussion in these pages on Universal Military Training. The affirmative will be argued next week by William L. Batt, Jr., a young veteran who is director of research of the Democratic National Committee.

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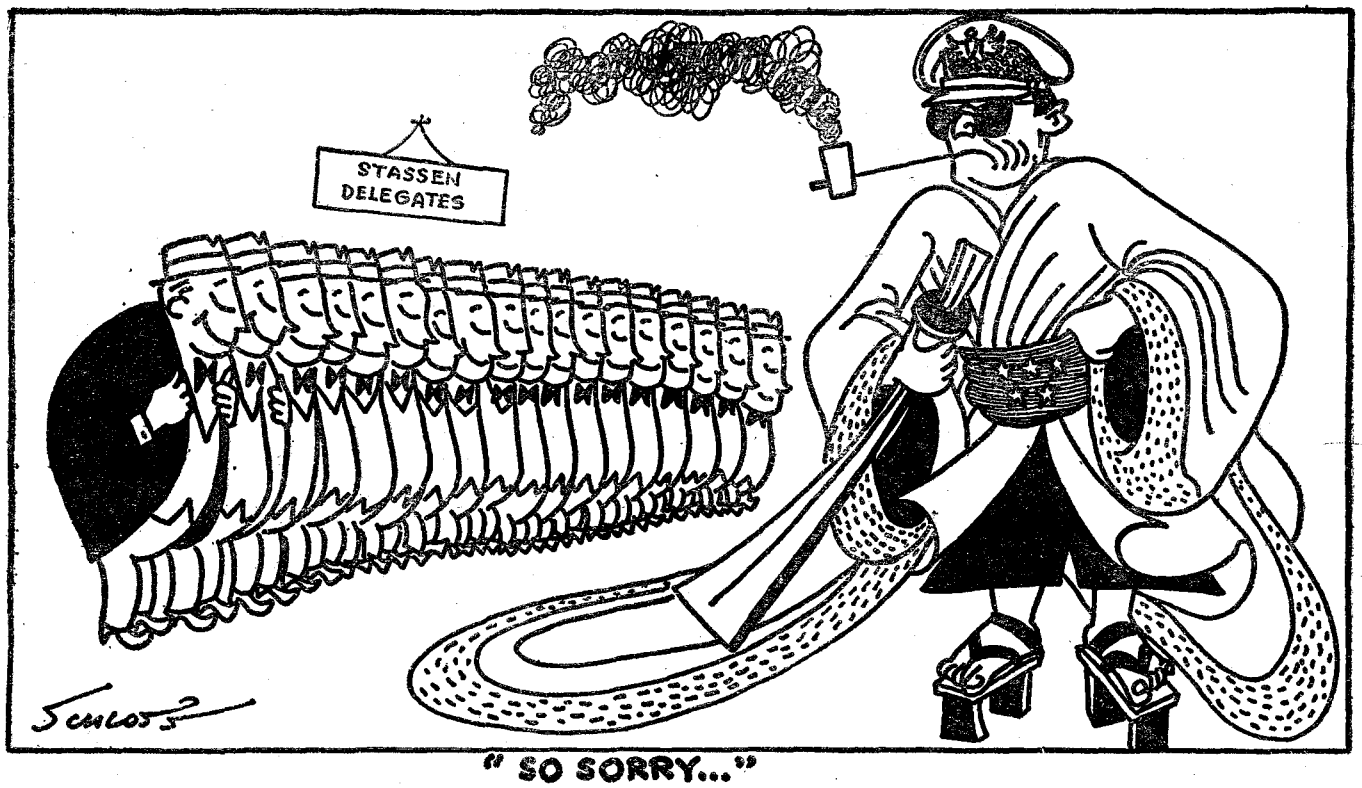
selves, or to back down before Russia because we could not face the task of rebuilding a shattered world with only American resources to use. If we were willing to go through with a war, and if we venture to assume an American victory, America would be left with the duty of running a world whose ruin it had calculated. This would be true whether or not Russia could be said to have been the aggressor. To rule in such chaos would be almost impossible. As a nation with supreme power, we have an obligation to prevent Russia or ourselves from ever beginning our mutual destruction.

It is at least an open question whether or not increasing the United States army immediately, by selective service and by universal military training, would prevent the Communists from dominating Finland, Italy, and France. It is certain that the Russians respect military power, and it is certain that without Russian backing, the Czech coup would either not have occurred or would have been more difficult. But no military leader or politician has put forth a convincing argument to prove that, without military conscription, our national security is in danger, or that communism in Europe will be contained by drafting eighteen-year-olds in America. Unless we are prepared to send troops to Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, Finland and elsewhere to throw out the Communist governments, and to destroy the native Communist parties, a possibility which the Europeans consider unlikely and therefore unalarming, the drafting and training of boys will not deter Communist coups.

Since we already have the greatest military force in the world today—for both atomic and bacterial warfare—the greatest air force, the greatest navy, the greatest production plant, and the greatest free and high-spirited manpower, we can hardly expect to increase the fear in which other nations hold our strength by the addition of some very young and slightly trained infantrymen who would act as reserves for a slightly expanded army. What is certain is that increasing numbers of American people will come to accept the third world war as inevitable, and, as our country becomes increasingly geared to a military economy, we are bound to be more aggressive and more ready to solve our problems by military rather than political, economic, or moral means. The internal atmosphere of the country will then tend to forbid any free expression of views on foreign policy or domestic issues, and the person who argues for peace or internationalism will be identified as pro-Russian or a traitor.

In the meantime, in Europe, the success or failure of communism will lie in whether or not its program, machine-made for situations of human misery, will continue to be attractive as a solution to local problems. Unless we can offer a specific, practical alternative, equally applicable to economic and social needs in each country, we cannot hope to contain communism. We must avoid the negative solution of the military threat, along with refusal of aid to those who need it. As Mr. Henry Stimson's clear analysis shows, "Our central task in dealing with the Kremlin is to demonstrate beyond the possibility of misunderstanding that freedom and prosperity, hand in hand, can be stably sustained in the Western democratic world. This would be our greatest task even



"SO SORRY..."

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if no Soviet problem existed, and to the Soviet threat it is our best response."

ASIDE from the inevitable growth of negative and military thinking, several unhappy practical effects would result from universal military training. The present plan calls for six months of training, to be followed by six months' service in the reserves, the National Guard, or in college R. O. T. C. The report of the President's Advisory Commission on Universal Training suggests that this should be an educational program, in which men would learn the essentials of soldiering and to "think like soldiers in military organizations." The youth would increase in patriotism by giving a year to their country in which they learn of its history and organization, and become more responsible and useful citizens. In its professed educational aims, the plan coincides (except for its weapon training and discipline) with the aims of high schools and colleges, where the young men of the last war received their training and became military leaders and scientists.

If we count upon approximately a million boys a year going into the camps, and allow one officer for every twenty boys, approximately 50,000 additional officers would be needed, all of whom should be the kind of men who could make the training period a fruitful educational experience. Otherwise, there is no justification for taking the boys from school or college. A further supply of talented and educated officers would be needed for the Officers' Training Corps in the colleges, and for supervising the whole program from headquarters. In addition, there are 43,000 civilians and perhaps 100,000 military personnel needed for supply, administration, medical service, and instruction, in the army alone.

Where could we find these men? They are not in the army now. During the last war, we found them among our teachers, but that profession is approximately 300,000 short as it now stands. Presumably therefore, it might be necessary to draft or to hire young teachers immediately to put the program in operation. The whole enterprise of military training would strengthen immeasurably the influence of the army in the domestic life of the country, since it would expand the officer corps to at least double its present size, and would make of it a purchasing agent for a million or more regular customers every year.

Aside from the indoctrination of military attitudes, the program provides a means of producing a new class structure, and for building into peace-time life the social evils of segregation and discrimination which we are now seriously trying to eliminate. The social philosophy of the army cannot fail to be unenlightened, since its nature and function are such as to inhibit social vision and the teaching of democracy.

There is also the cost of the program. We have no completely reliable estimate of cost for universal military training, except that it seems likely to reach three to five billion dollars a year, with an increasing cost from year to year. Three and one-half billion dollars is approximately equal to the amount spent on the whole educational system of the United States, from elementary school to university. It is unlikely that America will be able to support a program of aid to Europe, military training, and aid to education. I believe we shall be forced to choose between putting the country's educational expansion into the hands of the military, or into the hands of the educators.

It would be very easy for military people to go wrong, and assume that the kind of young man they want for military service is one whose education has been improved by an expensive year in army service. The need of the services in the last war was for boys who were healthy, strong, emotionally stable, intelligent, educable, and devoted to civic ideals. The fact that we had millions of boys with these qualities was the basic reason we were able to win the war. The military had little to do with these virtues; the boys delivered by the draft boards had already acquired them. If a high quality of manhood is to be found in the America of the future, it will have to come from an expanded and improved educational system which *must* have the money it is now proposed to assign to a rather simple vocational-training program in how to take orders from officers.

It is therefore a fair question to ask, even should one grant the necessity for our national security of beginning such a program, what positive effects of military significance would be achieved which could not be achieved less expensively and more fruitfully by other means. I think a careful answer would reveal that little more than the registration, classification, and identification of those young men most suitable for the various jobs of war would result. Improvement of national health, fitness, discipline, and social adjustment are all aims which could be achieved in ways other than the military, and with less waste of time, money, and human values. Even the military registration can be handled by schools and colleges, if a total reserve inventory of youth is needed. Voluntary enlistment in the navy and the air corps is, I understand, moderately satisfactory to the military.

The President, the Secretary of State, and the Cabinet carry the burden of proof of the imminence of war, the wisdom of their steps to avoid it, and the validity of their stated need for 300,000 conscripted men and a yearly stream of trained reserves. Until the students and teachers of this country have heard proofs more convincing than those already advanced, I believe we should continue to support economic aid to Europe, the United Nations, and the belief that the people of every country will rally to a political and economic philosophy, backed by America, which meets the material and spiritual needs of their own situation.

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Palestine: Operation Chaos

BY LILLIE SHULTZ

WHETHER or not the United Nations is to go into receivership to the military clique which now dominates American foreign policy depends on the morality of the small powers and their stamina in resisting the American steam-roller. Much depends upon the Latin Americans, who last fall voted almost solidly for partition. It remains to be seen whether inducements offered at Bogotá can win acquiescence in any plan proposed by the United States.

With the aim of isolating the Russians in the United Nations and bending every policy to the single end of preparing for war against the Soviet Union, this military clique has decided upon, and is carrying through, the appeasement of the Arab states, is pushing China and even France to support its position, and is urging the British to remain in Palestine on the score of securing bases for common action against the Soviet Union. While the United States, Britain, and France are intent on appeasing the Arabs, Russia maintains its original support of partition. At the moment, however, French-Anglo-American agreement is restricted to opposing partition: America wants tripartite control; France wants no part in trusteeship, and favors recognition of the Arab states as "interested countries"; Britain wants a decision for the Arabs and the elimination of big-power control.

To be sure, the United States delegation has continued to reiterate its adherence to partition. Publicly, its proposal for a temporary trusteeship is explained as a way of restoring peace to a troubled area and of hurdling the Security Council's "lack of authority"—which the United States itself invented—to enforce a political decision. Privately, the defense interests of the country are offered as the excuse for our new policy. The explanations might have deceived some and been acceptable to others if even the remotest attempt had been made to carry through the partition resolution. The record, however, shows that, immediately after its passage, sabotage of partition was begun by the British, encouraged by the State Department, pushed by the Arab states, and acquiesced in by some members of the Palestine Commission itself.

In the commission, many technical steps which might have brought the November 29 resolution closer to implementation, and at least established the Jewish provisional government, were not taken. For this, chief responsibility rests upon the Danish member, Per Federspiel, unofficial representative of the British, who for weeks counseled the commission against action and even proposed to ask for the special sessions.

Actually, the present situation regarding Palestine is the result of collaboration between the State Department and the British Foreign Office. This is reflected in the embargo on arms shipments to Palestine by the United States on December 6; the failure of the State Department to let the Arab states know we would not tolerate their revolt; active propaganda by the Defense Department to prove the necessity of Middle Eastern oil for war purposes, and the danger that the Arabs would cancel oil leases; and in the charge of lack of patriotism against those who favor partition.

The fact is, the American proposal ignored the accusations of the Palestine Commission that the British government had failed to maintain security in the Palestine area; that the Arab states and the Arab Higher Committee were revolting against the U. N. resolution; that the British government had refused to permit the commission to come to Palestine before May 1, two weeks prior to the end of the mandate; had also refused to clear a seaport with a hinterland in the Jewish state to allow for substantial immigration; had refused to permit the commission to take steps for the formation of defense militias; and had refused to turn over to the commission areas in Palestine in progressive stages.

It certainly took no account of the fact that although the British had undertaken to enforce law and order and refused to share that responsibility with any other country, or with the United Nations, they: (1) Allowed 7,500 armed troops from Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Iraq, and Transjordan to occupy large sections of Palestine and to participate in armed attacks on Jewish settlements; (2) maintain in Palestine the Transjordan Arab Legion, trained, commanded, and financed by the British which shares in the attacks on Jews; (3) continue to deliver arms to the Arab states despite the open announcement, preparation, and participation of those states in the revolt against the partition resolution; (4) refuse permission to the Jewish population to organize its own defense; (5) defeat Jewish efforts at self-defense by confiscation of arms and the detention and imprisonment of Jews defending themselves; (6) fail to protect the highways and refuse to allow armed escorts or self-arming by the Jews; (7) permitted the Arabs to seize and hold the Old City of Jerusalem; (8) connive at starving the Jewish population of Jerusalem; (9) advised the Jews to evacuate their positions in the old commercial section of Jerusalem and throughout the Negev; (10) blew up Jewish defense posts; (11) deliberately

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handed over Haganah members to the Arab police with the certainty that they would be killed; (12) regularly confiscated Haganah arms; (13) treat Jewish defense personnel like criminals unless they go unarmed.

Today, the British have at their disposal in Palestine military and police forces with modern arms estimated at 130,000. That they have, nevertheless, failed to put down the Arab revolt is due not, as they claim, to "the length of the frontier and the difficult nature of the terrain," but rather to their direct encouragement of the revolt in an effort to force the scrapping of partition.

THAT aim will find open expression in the special session of the Assembly. Since November 29, the British have covertly made many attempts to maintain their hold in Palestine. One plan involved turning over the whole of Palestine to King Abdullah of Transjordan, with base rights for the British and a ghetto for the Jews. Another plan was to divide Palestine among the Arab states, retaining the coastal strip under British control. What the British would like best of all is the old, rejected Morrison-Grady plan under which a series of cantons would be set up, the Jews being allotted scattered areas not to exceed a total of 1,500 out of some 10,000 square miles, with British rule indefinitely extended. But they are now reconciled to a so-called federal state and, in fact, have already made an agreement with the Arab League that, in the event such a state is established, bases will be granted to the British in Haifa, the Negev, and Galilee. They are also seeking to assure the continued dominance of the Arab League, which is a creature of the Foreign Office. That they intend to continue some form of control in Palestine is clearly indicated in the recent permission granted by the British government to the Iraq Petroleum Company, partly British government-owned, to build a new pipeline to Haifa.

This explains why the British thus far have resisted American pressure to participate in a trusteeship plan. They hope that, if they can scare the world into believing they are adamant about ending the mandate on May 15 and leaving the country on August 1, with chaos as the consequence, the United States may scrap its formal adherence to partition, and with it the trusteeship proposal. The way could thus be paved for renewing the Lebanese move to establish an Arab-dominated federal state in Palestine with Britain singled out for bases.

Certainly, the British have won the first round. Even in the tentative proposals submitted by the United States delegation on April 5, the American position closely follows the British line. Although they know that the aims of the Jews and the Arabs are irreconcilable—and told the General Assembly so last fall—the Americans suggested a temporary, but indefinite, trusteeship to end only when the Jews and Arabs have agreed on the future government of Palestine. Although they know that the Arabs are unalterably opposed to further Jewish immigration and the sale of land to Jews, the Americans proposed that the trusteeship agreement should include provisions with respect to immigration and land sales based on negotiations with Arabs and Jews. In effect, the Americans were underwriting the provisions of the White Paper of 1939. Although they know that the Arabs are the majority in Palestine, the Americans proposed an elected legislature in which the Jews would be relegated to minority status, and at the same time suggested in effect that this minority should supply the major proportion of the finances of the new government. In two other respects, the United States is aping Britain: by holding Palestine Jews—who support the U. N. resolution and defend themselves against Arab attack—co-responsible with the Arabs for violence, and in seeking to destroy the authority of the Jewish Agency.

Perhaps the most important of the American proposals is that member states of the United Nations, designated in advance, should come to the aid of the new Palestine government in the event that it is unable to maintain security or faces outside aggression. They stipulate, moreover, that the financing of such armed forces should be undertaken by the states involved. This provision obviously anticipates the supplying of forces by Britain, France, and, in the last analysis, the United States. This was also implicit in the President's statement. Whether or not Congress will agree to send American troops is still a big question. What the State Department refused even to consider as a possible means of implementing partition it is now preparing to urge in order to supplant partition; with the British-French consent still dubious, the United States may be left holding the bag. Had the United States proposed big-power armed support in the event of external aggression, it could probably have brought about the establishment of a small-power force to meet the request of the commission, and enable it to carry out partition.

THE cynicism of the new American approach is nowhere better demonstrated than in its omission of any reference to the Arab states in calling for a truce—despite the fact that the British, the Palestine Commission, and the Jewish Agency all confirmed to the Security Council the fact of armed incursions by neighboring Arab states. And first-hand reports reveal that, with the exception of Jerusalem, where the Arab Higher Committee is active, these outside forces are responsible for the attacks on Jews throughout the country.

Moshe Shertok, representing the Jewish Agency, charged that 2,500 Syrian troops are now in Palestine; that recruiting regulations were issued by the Syrian Minister of Defense; that the Syrian Prime Minister supervised the training of troops for war in Palestine at the Qatana barracks in Syria; that the President of the

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Syrian Republic presided over the appointment of commanders of the Arab forces of invasion. Yet the Syrian delegate, Faris el-Khouri, could say, without challenge by any member of the Council, that these are "only local skirmishes." And when Mr. Shertok called attention to financial allocations by the Egyptian government for operations in Palestine and the announcement by the Lebanese Prime Minister of his government's intention to supply Palestine with arms, money, and men, the Egyptian delegate, Fawzi Bey, blandly discounted the charges with the words: "If the spokesman for the Jewish Agency delves into all the available newspapers and tells us a story about which we officially do not know, that is his own responsibility."

The Security Council ignored the Palestine Commission's warning that "a basic issue of international order is involved [and] dangerous and tragic precedents will have been established if force or the threat of the use of force is to prove an effective deterrent to the will of the United Nations." Small wonder, then, that the Lebanese delegate offered a trade to the Security Council—a pledge by the Arab states to order Arabs in Palestine to cease hostilities provided Palestine is not partitioned.

The new American appeasement policy has been justified by Secretary Forrestal as a means of preventing cancellation of Western oil concessions by Arab states. But the facts are that no Arab rulers have threatened to cancel oil leases; American military experts concede that Middle Eastern oil installations could be destroyed almost overnight in the event of war; and there are ample undeveloped oil reserves in the United States, Mexico, Venezuela, Peru, Colombia, Brazil, and Argentina, apart from the enormous potential of synthetic oil. Under Senatorial pressure, even Forrestal has agreed to hold up steel shipments for Saudi Arabia and the Trans-Arabian pipeline so that oil development in this hemisphere can be accelerated.

OUR new proposals do not insure peace, nor are they certain of getting the required two-thirds majority in the Assembly. The small powers, jealous of the Assembly's authority, may resist. The Arab states and the Mufti have declined to agree to a truce unless partition is abandoned. The Jewish agency is willing to agree to a truce provided it is within the terms of the November 29 resolution and that foreign Arab forces are removed from Palestine.

Certain members of the State Department have coined the phrase that "partition is like prohibition." The United States was not ready for prohibition after the last war; the Middle East is not ready for partition. At the moment, however, the United States seems to have no intention of asking for the formal rescinding of the partition resolution. It is willing to accept the judgment of the Belgian member of the Security Council, that when the Council on March 5 rejected the United States proposals for implementation, partition died a natural death. But it is not certain the path will be as easy as all that. It is more likely that the State Department will be compelled to decide whether or not it is ready openly to scrap partition.

If it does, this country faces the possibility of having to use American arms to suppress Jewish resistance. On May 16, a provisional Jewish government is prepared to take over the government of the area assigned to the Jewish state under the partition plan. And the Jews of Palestine will have sympathy and help from many sections of the world which share the view of Dr. Herbert V. Evatt, Foreign Minister of Australia, that "the United Nations decision has been gradually undermined by intrigue directed against the Jewish people." An aroused American public opinion could still prevent this final act in a process of betrayal which affects not simply the Jews of Palestine, but peace and democracy's survival. It is not too late for the President to insist that partition be implemented, since the alleged aims of trusteeship cannot be achieved. There will be no truce, unless it is imposed by force; chaos will prevail at the mandate's end. It would be far less costly in men and money to impose partition than to defeat it.

As for the United Nations, there is no reason why they should follow the present path of retreat marked out by the United States and Great Britain. They could insist upon recognition of the Jewish government and the arming of a Jewish militia. If the Arabs of Palestine persist in defying the Assembly resolution, the Arab area could come under trusteeship as was originally suggested in the fall session. As for ending hostilities, a long step in that direction would be the establishment of an immediate arms embargo against all the Arab League states. This is the decent way; it is also a practical way.

ONCE BIT, TWICE SHY

London *Express*—Canada Wide

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The Catholic Church and Fascism

BY PAUL BLANSHARD

This is the second of three installments in the first of Paul Blanshard's new articles: The Catholic Church in relation to Fascism, Politics, Science, and Censorship. These articles supplement his series of last fall: The Roman Catholic Church in Medicine, Sex, and Education. Mr. Blanshard will incorporate the two series he has written for The Nation *with additional material in a book to be called, "Plain Talk About the Catholic Church." The last part of The Roman Catholic Church and Fascism will appear next week in* The Nation.

II.

THE signing of the Lateran Treaty cleared the way for Vatican approval of Mussolini's war on Ethiopia. "On the plains of Ethiopia," said Cardinal Schuster of Milan on October 28, 1935, as reported in *Popolo d'Italia,* "the Italian standard carries forward in triumph the Cross of Christ, smashes the chains of slavery, and opens the way for the missionaries of the gospel." The Roman Catholic press in the United States was not so enthusiastic, but it promptly began sniping at the League of Nations and the "barbaric" notion of sanctions against Italy. The Vatican brought pressure to bear on South American states to oppose League sanctions, but the campaign was scarcely necessary. The League was dying on its feet from moral anemia. It required no special gift of prophecy for me to write from Milan to *The Nation*: "If Italy cannot be persuaded or compelled to use the machinery of the League of Nations, that outcast institution will have no place to lay its head."

It has remained for a Roman Catholic writer, Count Michael de la Bedoyere, editor of Britain's *Catholic Herald,* to write the most sweeping indictment of the Vatican and the Ethiopian war ("Christian Crisis," p. 87*):

> Italy, reputedly a Catholic nation—wherein a Catholic revival was proceeding—attacked with the might of modern armaments a small and weak native people for purposes of naked imperialistic conquest. She did this, moreover, in defiance of the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Kellogg Pact, after having actually sponsored Abyssinia's membership of the League. . . . It would be difficult to find a clearer case on paper of deliberate and unjust (and cowardly) aggression in the face of international machinery, accepted by Italy and expressly designed to prevent the recourse to force as the instrument of policy. . . . Yet so far from protesting against such action, the church seemed to condone and to defend it. The Catholics of Italy enthusiastically supported the Duce: the clergy, even the higher clergy, apparently allowed nationalism completely to overshadow their moral sense and the traditional teaching of the church about just and unjust wars; even condoning the affair. . . .

Meanwhile, the Vatican had been drawing nearer and nearer to fascism in its economic and social program. Pius XI's ambiguous encyclical of 1931 on Reconstructing the Social Order seemed to advocate an authoritarian, corporate state as a solution of the world's economic ills. It denounced socialism explicitly, and called for a dual labor movement under Catholic influence to combat the movements of the left. Pointing out how Mussolini's corporative organizations prohibited all strikes and lockouts, the Pope said: "Little reflection is required to perceive the advantage of the institution thus summarily described; peaceful collaboration of the classes, repression [*sic*] of Socialist organizations and efforts, the moderating influence of a special ministry." The only criticism of fascism that the Pope ventured in this encyclical was that the corporative organizations were "excessively bureaucratic and political." There was no suggestion that they also murdered anti-Fascists.

In the United States, the Catholic bishops echoed the Pope's principles of "cooperation" in a vague plan for "social reorganization" that suggested a voluntary industrial parliament of employers, workers, and the government, with the government serving as an innocuous adviser. In this plan, as in its victorious campaign against the Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution, the American hierarchy sought to use liberal slogans to oppose the concept of a democratic social-welfare state.

AFTER these years of collaboration with fascism, it was not an accident that, when the Republican-Socialist revolution began in Spain in 1931, the church was universally recognized as a partisan in the struggle. At the beginning, the war in Spain was not a clean-cut struggle for and against fascism, but it soon became that.

The political war which preceded the formal Spanish civil war was largely a struggle for the schools. The Spanish church had controlled education for centuries and had left almost half the Spanish people illiterate. I wrote to *The Nation* from Madrid in 1933:

> In the background of the capital-labor struggle that is going on in Spain is the struggle between the socialistic state and the Catholic church for control of na-

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tional culture. The issue involved is not freedom of worship—the churches are open and well attended, and the clergy is outspoken in opposition to the government. Other important issues are involved. Who shall control the schools? Shall the government continue to support the ordinary priesthood?

The Republican government realized that it had to begin from the bottom and teach Spanish children the alphabet of democracy. It ordered the schools taken away from the Jesuits, but it never acquired the power and the money to carry out its program. As a result, the population was profoundly divided when the official civil war finally began in 1936. Many good Catholics fought with the Republicans, but the hierarchy, the Falange, and the landholders stood together.

In the end, it was the international power of the Vatican which determined the issue. The Roman Catholic church in the United States played a decisive rôle in preventing the lifting of the embargo on arms to Spain, arms which would have saved the government from Franco's rebels. While Mussolini rushed support to Franco, the American Catholic press described the battle as a holy war for the preservation of Christianity. Communist support from Russia gave the church its opportunity to paint the battle as a Christian-Communist death struggle. In American Catholicism, only a few faint voices were raised in dissent, and those voices were almost drowned in bitter denunciation. The *Commonweal,* which, with the Chicago *New World,* had stood almost alone against Franco, admitted in 1947 that it had lost one-fourth of its circulation in a single year as the price of its courage.

Franco and the American Catholic lobby won, and the pre-war story is now ancient history. But the post-war story is part of the same serial, with all the same actors except Hitler and Mussolini. Franco no longer greets American diplomats with pictures of Hitler and Mussolini displayed on the wall behind his chair, but he has established in Spain a clerical-fascist state which goes far beyond Mussolini's fascism in recognizing the church as a partner in the totalitarian government.

In the fake "election" of last July 6, when Franco had a Law of Succession passed by a "referendum" which made him head of the government for life, the bishops openly helped to rally the vote for him. The ballots, of course, contained no alternative to a pro-Franco vote, but the bishops saw nothing inconsistent with this limitation, or with the regulation which made opposition to the Franco regime a crime. "Women voters," said the New York *Times* in describing the elections, "turned out in greater numbers than men, partly, it is said, because of pressure from the clergy to vote for Generalissimo Franco."

The Law of Succession describes Spain as a "Catholic kingdom," and, in this kingdom, Franco has restored control of education to the church, made Catholicism the official state religion, declared in Article 6 of his Bill of Rights that public "ceremonies and manifestations other than those of the Catholic religion will not be permitted," and made it impossible for anyone who has ever been baptized as a Catholic to be married except by a priest. The Spanish Law of Primary Education of 1945 makes it obligatory for all teachers in state schools to take a course in Catholic doctrine before they can teach; and Article 5, Chapter II, Section I says that "Primary education, inspired with a Catholic sense and consistent with Spanish educational traditions, will conform to the principles of the Catholic dogma and faith and to the prescriptions of canon law."

These specifications are listed in Emmet J. Hughes's recently published "Report from Spain," in which he summarizes with the bitter honesty of a devout Catholic what he believes to be the "dominant characteristics of the contemporary Spanish church":

> An overriding dedication to institutional self-interest; a tough, prideful imperviousness to criticism; a profound suspicion of any intellectual inquisitiveness; a contempt for any kind of education which is not synonymous with indoctrination; a sharp distrust and hostility toward any political or social movement that could be called "radical," "leftist," or "liberal"; and a respect that approaches reverence for power in any form.

In this new Spain, the little children in all schools are told that "Spain is a totalitarian country and its Chief is His Excellency the Caudillo, Generalissimo of the Armies on land, sea and in the air, and Chief of the Government which is made up of twelve ministries." And in the manual for religious instruction, *Nuevo Ripalda,* as cited by Mr. Hughes, Spanish children in all religious classes in the nation are given the following interpretation of freedom*:

> Q. What are the freedoms which liberalism defends? A. Freedom of conscience, freedom of worship, and freedom of the press.
>
> Q. What does freedom of the press mean? A. The right to print and publish without previous censorship all kinds of opinions, however absurd and corrupting they may be.
>
> Q. Must the government suppress this freedom by means of censorship? A. Obviously, yes.
>
> Q. Why? A. Because it must prevent the deception, calumny and corruption of its subjects, which harm the general good.
>
> Q. Are there other pernicious freedoms? A. Yes, freedom of propaganda, and freedom of assembly.
>
> Q. Why are these freedoms pernicious? A. Because they serve to teach error, propagate vice, and plot against the church. . . .

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Washington Briefs

BY MADELINE KARR

Washington, April 7

AMERICAN military strategy calls for control of the Mediterranean with Spain as the Western anchor of the American defense. According to reliable Washington sources, Myron C. Taylor, during his visit to Madrid last week, tried to get Franco to promise air and naval bases. . . . While the State Department understands that the inclusion of Spain in E. R. P. would be politically inexpedient just now, the military view is different. There is talk in the Defense Department about a Mediterranean military alliance similar to the Brussels agreement for Western Europe. The Greek-Turkish conversations ended without producing a defense pact, but this was only a first try. American military advisers in those countries will maintain close cooperation between them, looking ultimately toward a comprehensive deal embracing Western Europe and the Middle East. Greece, Italy, and Spain would be the connecting links between the Brussels treaty nations and the contemplated Mediterranean group. . . . The way all these plans hang together was suggested by Mr. Forrestal in his testimony before the Senate Small Business Committee last month. The Defense Secretary said that a Communist victory in Italy would call for reexamination of steel allocations for the Arabian-American oil pipeline. . . . Spain's strategic position at the Western entrance to the Mediterranean makes a military deal with Franco equally vital to our continued control of Middle East oil, or so the military men argue.

THE peacetime political value of Middle East oil is now considered greater than any possible wartime value. Last July, Admiral John H. Hoover, chairman of the Army-Navy Petroleum Board, told a Senate committee that Middle East oil could not be considered as a reserve for use in case of war with Russia. In executive session, it was brought out that the most the navy actually hopes is to keep the Saudi Arabian port on the Persian Gulf open for use as a fueling station. . . . But oil plays a unique rôle in the struggle for Western Europe. The E. R. P nations depend heavily on oil imports for economic recovery; American control of Middle East oil will mean that we can supply Europe and at the same time keep Russia from doing it.

THE Administration is afraid that E. R. P. alone will not be enough to stop Russia. What then? The C. E. E. C. nations cannot use E. R. P. money for arms, and economically they are in great need of the goods the legislation specifies. Besides, even if they could afford to buy military supplies, Administration defense leaders believe their equipment should be standardized with ours. In fact, plans for arms standardization are supposed to have been completely worked out between the United States and Britain through the Joint Chiefs of Staffs. . . . But there is no legal way that the Defense Department can send or sell arms to Europe from American production lines. Those being shipped to Italy, Greece, and Turkey are all surplus. . . . To arm Western Europe, a new lend-lease plan of some sort would be necessary. If the Administration decides on such a plan, it will probably follow the highly successful formula used in getting E. R. P. through Congress. Again we shall see the European nations taking the initiative in calling for aid, and the United States recognizing their need and finding ways to meet it. Again it will be a policy of indirection, with this country ostensibly casting itself in a secondary role.

MADRID'S controlled radio pretends it is delighted that Spain is to be kept out of the E. R. P., after all; it describes Mr. Truman's decision to "revoke" the House action to include Spain as "most appropriate." Said J. P. Madrigal over Radio-Madrid:

> It is reasonable, logical, and even plausible that Spain should not be specifically incorporated into the text of the bill passed to rehabilitate the sixteen countries in need of rehabilitation, the sixteen countries which need it. Is there in Spain an equalitarian democracy? Is there shooting? Are there strikes, sabotage? Is there national dissolution, terror? Are there revolts, outrages to the country and its symbols, and criminal exaltations of Stalin and the Soviet Union? No! No! There is nothing of the sort in Spain. That being so, why should she be included among the *sixteen countries . . . ?*

In the Wind

WHO'S on first?" asked the Candle.

"Governor Roy J. Turner of Oklahoma," said the Wind. "On February 3 last, he blamed 'agitators' and 'radicals' for the uproar that resulted when Oklahoma refused to let Ada Lois Sipuel enter its state law school."

"What's on second?" asked the Candle.

"A story by sports writer Dick Young," said the Wind, "in the New York *Daily News,* one fine day last week:"

> Oklahoma City, Okla., April 6—A pair of hired hands are cleaning up for Branch Rickey this exhibition tour of the ripe Southlands. With Jackie Robinson and Roy Campanella serving as terrific twin magnets, the Dodgers are drawing the Negro fans as they play to overflow crowds almost daily. Yesterday, you couldn't get another human into the field unless you put him in uniform. The park of 9,000 capacity bulged under the strain of the 11,370 customers and spread the surplus all around the fringe of the outfield and down the foul lines.
>
> The tipoff, of course, is that 6,800, more than half the crowd, was colored. The turnouts of Robinson and Campanella partisans was so overwhelming that, after the regular Negro bleacher sections were filled, the management converted the upper half of the grandstand, normally reserved for the whites, into another Jim Crow sector.
>
> The previous day, at Ft. Worth, another overflow throng totalled 15,507. Of these, half were colored. Robinson and Campanella, who must certainly see the importance of this situation in regards to their salary matters of of next year, are having a great time kidding each other.
>
> As the colored fans were roped off in the outfield as early as pregame practice, Robby said to Campy, "You sure pack 'em in, boy." Campanella grinned and said: "I think a few of them came to see you, Jack."

"Looks like there are 6,800 radical agitators in Oklahoma City," said the Candle. "Out at home."

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Del Vayo—De Gaulle in May?

Paris, March 30

WHAT are the chances of a new political crisis in France? In the forecasting business, it is always safe to give oneself a bit of leeway, so now those who believe a right dictatorship is inevitable are talking of "De Gaulle in May."

I would not advise anyone to place a bet either way. Perhaps the most significant feature of the French situation is the utter impossibility of predicting what is going to happen as much as six weeks ahead. One thing *is* clear: De Gaulle's star rises and falls with the changing international picture. The future of the General is tied to the idea of war. For that very reason, I am by no means certain his chances are as bright as his followers would have us believe; as time passes and people find a moment for serious reflection, war comes to seem more abhorrent, more absurd. The desire for peace, I believe, has turned into the most powerful weapon at the command of those with political ambitions. In the United States, Henry Wallace, who could have picked any one of a half-dozen burning issues on which to attack the Administration, has based his entire campaign on the single plank of peace. In Italy, Togliatti put his sharp ear to the ground and came up with the same idea: the final phase of the Italian electoral campaign finds the Fronte Populare relegating the questions of nationalization and agrarian reform to second place and concentrating on the slogan, "A vote for F. P. is a vote for peace."

In the minds of the French people, the identification of De Gaulle with war is inevitable. Even conservatives, who under other circumstances would instinctively be attracted by much the General represents, are beginning to doubt that he could govern effectively in any but a war emergency. During the battle of prices and the underlying struggle to restore France's economic balance, they have waited, at first with hope and now with mounting disappointment, for De Gaulle to formulate something even approaching a program. Thus far, his only concrete pronouncement has been a naïve proposal for France to return to the medieval guild system, or a somewhat more totalitarian version of it. If this country were to become a battlefield again, the General would readily be accepted as the symbol of the French military tradition; as savior of the franc, or as mediator in the class struggle, he cannot be taken seriously.

One might treat the issue of Gaullism with little concern were the present government coalition not bent, it would seem, on forcing the French people to a drastic alternative: De Gaulle or the Communists. For if they must choose, it will be De Gaulle. The inherent weakness of the Third Force experiment has been its tendency to lean "more to the right than to the left"; thus, Gaullism has been pushed to the front by a process of elimination. Were the Socialist Party still the mass organization it was in the days of the Popular Front, its attempt to maintain a kind of balance between the General and Communists would have made sense. Unfortunately, the S. F. I. O. is only a pale shadow of its old self. Last month, three meetings were held in the same hall at Paris by three different factions of French socialism: the official party as such; the Rassemblement Democratique et Revolutionnaire, which advocates a more left orientation than the Third Force but continues within the party; and the Bataille Socialiste, recently expelled. Of the three, the official party meeting drew the smallest crowd; while the success of the R. D. R. evening was due largely to the novelty of seeing Jean-Paul Sartre, high priest of existentialism, in the rôle of political agitator. Not one of the rallies showed strength or promise of leadership.

Without a strong Socialist Party as backbone of the Third Force, the fate of the present government hangs on the unpredictable moods of its other partners, the M. R. P. and the Radical Socialists. So far, the M. R. P. has displayed a certain independence, dictated largely by the fear that if it plays along with the General it will ultimately be swallowed up. The infinitely weaker Radicals are less apprehensive of absorption: Herriot is in bad health; in any case, he long ago forfeited his chance of becoming leader of a new left grouping; as for the Daladier clique, they maintain their party designation simply as a matter of convenience at election time.

Unquestionably, the M. R. P. has exploited the weakness of the Radicals and the compromising attitude of the Socialists for its own confessional interests. In this, it is following the example of Pius XIII, whose prowess in spiritual affairs was topped by the political talent he revealed in his Easter Sunday address. On the other hand, the M. R. P.'s attack on the program of secular education is creating new friction within the coalition. Though the Socialists and Radicals have yielded on various economic and political issues, they do not relish the prospect of facing the voters as "allies of the priest."

With their parliamentary majority fast withering away, Prime Minister Schuman and his Socialist supporters have pinned their hopes on the new price decrees and the prospect of an abundant harvest, discussed in this column last week. But even if these measures force prices down, some crucial political and social problems will remain. Much will depend on the attitude of the Communists. In the past few months, they have voted with the Gaullists on several issues in the Assembly. As a consequence, they are being accused of taking the line their German comrades followed in 1933: "Let Hitler come to power—he will provoke a counter-revolution that will operate in our favor." In the light of subsequent German developments and the present war fever, I doubt very much that the French party will repeat that error. At the moment, their attacks on the government seem to be abating somewhat. Should the international situation suddenly take a turn for the better, De Gaulle's chances will not be worth a nickel.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

A Great Story

MEMOIRS OF A SECRET AGENT OF FREE FRANCE (Volume I: "The Silent Company"). By "Rémy." Whittlesey House. $4.

ON JUNE 19, 1940, a French cook living in London volunteered his services to General de Gaulle. At that moment, "Free France" had none of the economic power on which history is supposed to turn; even had no stationery. De Gaulle received the cook in person: "Have you a piece of paper so I can take down your name?" The vast C. N. D. intelligence network, which was to provide detailed accounts of German installations in Normandy and much else that was invaluable, similarly started from nothing. "The Silent Company" tells the story of this network's development through June, 1942; another volume is to follow. It is—whatever one's preferences for the autonomous resistance groups which began inside France—one of the great narratives of the war.

Few men seemed less equipped for an historic rôle than "Rémy" (Gilbert Renault); he was naïve enough to go to the *gendarmerie* in Verdon for help in getting to England. Once in London, he volunteered for an intelligence mission, largely because he was homesick and wanted to see his family. Back in France, he vacillated and made many false starts. But by 1941, his network was taking shape: agents had been weighed and enlisted, and more were coming in; radio transmitters had been smuggled into the occupied zone; the cat-and-mouse game with the Gestapo had begun. "The Silent Company" starts as a story of one inexperienced man's trial of his loneliness and courage; it ends as a day-by-day diary of an elaborate intelligence operation.

The political ignorance of Gilbert Renault in the spring of 1940 was as extreme as his military innocence. He read the *Action Française;* admired the patriotism of Maurras, and the strength and modesty of Pétain. He was a motion-picture producer, a business man, and a devout Catholic. On whom could one rely, unless on such persons as himself, on hard-working, reliable bourgeois? Before long, Renault learned better. The education of this business man underlines the pathos and irony of our present commitment, which can draw no fine distinctions between the policy of a few men in the Kremlin and the longings of moral revolutionaries still numbering millions. For we have acted exactly as the well-heeled collaborationists told Renault we would act.

Renault won his education, but won it the hard way—through observing the treason and sleazy compromise of the respectable. Even this good Catholic pays tribute to the discipline, generosity, and idealism of French Communists in prison-camps, when others trafficked for more than their share. Is it too late to save some remnant of this moral energy? To *accept* some of the millions of non-party Frenchmen who vote Communist only in protest? To draw a circle wide enough to include them? Or must we continue to depend for our chief support on these solid citizens who agree with the doctrines of any conqueror? On these safe, orderly, and respectable bourgeois?

The bourgeois of whom I have been speaking is the director of companies, who represents their interests through thick and thin, the money-grubbing peasant, whose money is his god, the swindler who will never give up his black-market activities, the general whose rank is his *raison d'être,* and the bishop who glories in his miter. All these people are wedded to something or other; whatever it is, it is not France. Of course, none of them thinks first of his own skin, for skin, as everyone knows, is of no use unless it is stretched over a well-filled belly and decently covered by good cloth, with, if possible, a decoration of some kind in the buttonhole, and a title of sorts in the pocket. Skin by itself is common stuff. The common people—and that includes the workman, the humble clerk, the fellow living on a small annuity, the small farmer, the small shopkeeper, the country priest, the members of the liberal professions—all who give money a place of only relative importance—are revolutionaries, if you like. These people have but skin on their bones. If, my bourgeois, you want proof that skin and bones are not worth much, consider how people will give them for no reward whatsoever.

ALBERT GUERARD, JR.

Cross Section 1948

A COLLECTION OF NEW AMERICAN WRITING. Edited by Edwin Seaver. Simon and Schuster. $3.50.

ANTHOLOGIES are like wars: infernal and apparently inevitable. Since they are infernal, they must be criticized; since they seem inevitable, criticism is confined to a question of strategy and tactics. Even from this limited point of view, however, Mr. Edwin Seaver's "Cross Section 1948" represents an unsuccessful campaign which can hardly be excused by difficult terrain or green troops.

The aim of Mr. Seaver's collection is "to show a cross section of what our writers, principally our younger writers, are currently thinking and feeling." Manifestly, this is a difficult enterprise, but Mr. Seaver complicates his task unduly. His book is a cross section in the worst way. The selections are distinguished by their lack of distinction: they are representative rather than excellent. This fact evidently does not trouble Mr. Seaver, for he includes, as one of the two critical essays, an incompetent defense of mediocrity by Isidor Schneider. Readers more interested in literary art than in literary averages will doubtless be less tolerant than Mr. Seaver.

Yet as a matter of fact, "Cross Section 1948" is as weak as an index as it is as a work of art. As usual when, in a moment of fancied toughness, we decide to let the facts speak for themselves, we find that the facts are numb. If the facts are to make any sense, they must be sensitively and purposefully interpreted, not, as is the case with "Cross Section," reproduced in miniature. Indirectly, of course, the book does bear witness. As the publishers point out on the jacket, no poetry is included, and it may be surmised, with no great astonishment, that there is a dearth of good poetry. The war has a place in five of the stories, and there is an easy conclusion to this fact. But aside from such gross truths, "Cross Section 1948" indicates nothing.

Some of the work, to be sure, deserves special mention. Jessamyn West's

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satire, "The Pismire Plan," is certainly not commonplace. The fun is too clean for good satire, but the writing is skilful. Edward McSorley's "Bring On Your Mike Twin Sullivans" and Nancy Wilson Ross's "The Never Never Bird" are both good short stories, but the rest of the fiction lacks drama and authentic characterization. The criticism by Mr. Schneider and Robert Adams is clumsy in style and inconsequential in content. Better work is being done in undergraduate seminars. JOSEPH KRAFT

The Giant—T. V. A.

DAVID LILIENTHAL, Public Servant in a Power Age. By Willson Whitman. Henry Holt and Company. $3.

THE TENNESSEE. The New River, Civil War to TVA. Volume II. By Donald Davidson. Rinehart and Company. $3.50.

HERE are two books chiefly about the Tennessee Valley Authority, both of which fall short of an adequate, judicious appraisal of the world's most discussed public-works project. Both are badly marred by steadfastly held, preconceived opinions. For Miss Whitman, there can be nothing at all wrong about her hero and his work. As for Mr. Davidson, he—in the words of a childhood jibe—"wouldn't like it even if it were good."

Mr. Davidson, a devotee of the "old South" and a teacher of English at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee, is the better reporter of the two. He has his facts straight, but he ties himself into some terrible knots trying to twist them into an unfavorable picture.

To him, the T. V. A. is essentially a Yankee invasion of the Southland. He apparently resents the fact that headquarters were set up at Knoxville, in the eastern Tennessee mountains, rather than at Muscle Shoals, in Alabama. To him, Mr. Lilienthal is a sort of king, "playing God" with the consent of a "pliant Congress." When the former board chairman went to the Atomic Energy Commission and was succeeded by Gordon Clapp, the people of the valley, like medieval serfs, could only hope that the new king would be a good king. To Davidson, the popularity of T. V. A. is based on cut-rate electricity, and that hardly means the success of a great democratic experiment.

Miss Whitman's book, written with much less distinction of style and with much more superficiality, verges on the ecstatic in its folksy praise of a man who is anything but folksy. Admiration and adulation are no substitutes for a good understanding of matters as complex as electric-power rates.

It is time for a really competent appraisal of the T. V. A. The big dams have been completed. The transmission lines run in every direction. Traffic is moving across the long, many-armed lakes into which the Tennessee has been transformed. Probably there will always be a McKellar, but the big battle has been won. T. V. A. no longer is a bloody corner. It is not necessary to smite with might and main anybody and everybody who even eyes it askance.

An objective appraisal would reveal some flaws here and there, but such things should be corrected rather than suppressed. It is time to let the giant stand on his own feet. He can do it.

ERNEST KIRSCHTEN

Case Study of a Nazi

THE CASE OF RUDOLF HESS. Edited by J. R. Rees. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.

"THE CASE OF RUDOLF HESS" is a detailed clinical study of a psychopathic individual. It contains a series of reports by British and American doctors who examined Hitler's Deputy Führer from the time he flew (or fled) to England, in 1941, to the day he was sentenced at Nürnberg, in 1946. To the doctors, it was clear from the beginning that Hess was a marked paranoid and schizophrenic type with strong hysterical symptoms. His very appearance was a dead give-away. "He was gaunt, hollow-cheeked, pale, and lined; whereas the full face produced an impression of baleful strength, the profile disclosed a receding forehead, exaggerated supra-orbital ridges covered with thick bushy eyebrows, deeply sunken eyes, irregular teeth which tended to be permanently bared over the lower lip in the manner of 'buck' teeth, a very weak chin and receding lower jaw. The ears were misshapen and placed too low in relation to the height of the eyes. In parenthesis it would be added that a subsequent examination showed the palate to be narrow and arched. The whole man produced the impression of a caged great ape, and 'oozed' hostility and suspicion. . . ."

This sick individual had had the power of life and death over millions. What is even more frightening, he was symptomatic of a sick country, which has not been cured and is only in temporary confinement.

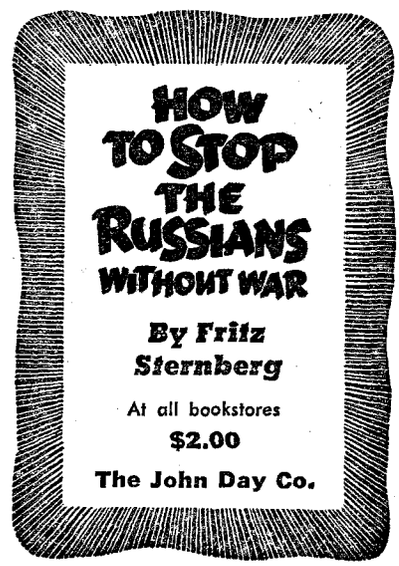
SAUL K. PADOVER

Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

BEFORE the new production of "Macbeth" opened at the National Theater, its male star, Michael Redgrave, contributed an article to the New York *Times.* The two controlling ideas of the interpretation were, he said, first that the whole should be conceived of as an action taking place in a society still in many respects barbarous and, second, that Macbeth himself should be considered a study in fear, peculiarly interesting to us because we are members of a race which is living in an age of anxiety.

Stated thus baldly, neither of these two premises seems particularly promising. For one thing, this insistence upon "anxiety" as the key to the spirit of the age is, at the moment, being rather overdone by artists working in all media. For another, and so far as the insistence that the historical Macbeth was a bar-



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barian is concerned, the fact remains that Shakespeare's historical plays are not really historical in the sense of taking any account of what we call "historicity." Hamlet and Macbeth are at least as much Elizabethans as they are anything else. You can stretch a point and play the former as though he were to some extent a contemporary of Saxo Grammaticus, but you could not put him into the age when the historical original is supposed to have lived without making his manners as well as his thoughts preposterously incongruous with external circumstance. Garrick, of course, played Macbeth in the red coat and gold braid of an eighteenth century soldier and, if one must go to extremes, it probably works better to assume that Macbeth is contemporary with the audience than to assume him wholly a barbarian of the dark ages. As a matter of actual fact, however, the present production does not go to extremes; the costume and manners of the members of the dramatis personae are barbaric only to the extent that the characters are obviously not merely courtiers in fancy dress, and I am not sure that I would ever have guessed "barbarism" to be one of the themes of the production if I had not been told beforehand that it was.

What we actually see upon the stage is a rather simple, rather straightforward production of what is, structurally at least, much the simplest and most straightforward of Shakespeare's major tragedies. The problem of staging it must be, compared with the problem presented by "Anthony and Cleopatra," mere child's play. Like "Hamlet," though to a much greater extent, it is foolproof in the sense that there is almost no way of preventing it from being interesting and theatrically effective. Mr. Redgrave and Miss Flora Robson certainly make it that, and sometimes each contributes to making it more. Each, however, has obviously his limitations and they are, curiously, quite antithetical ones.

Miss Robson's greatest virtues are intelligence and taste. She reads her lines as they could only be read by a woman who understands them thoroughly with her mind, and the sleep-walking scene, like some of the other big scenes, is played in a fashion which we, with our minds, are bound to respect. But I am not sure that we ever really believe her capable of reveling in a bloody murder. Certainly, she has not the power which Judith Anderson had to suggest elemental savagery. Perhaps the unfortunate fact that her markedly British accent inevitably suggests over-refinement to an American audience is in part responsible, but her very real artistry cannot banish the impression that she is rather too much a lady to be Lady Macbeth. Mr. Redgrave, on the other hand, is at his least satisfactory in the "big" speeches. He declaims them with a self-conscious effort to achieve variety and accent, but too often he only succeeds in making them seem merely stilted, after the manner of the pupil studying elocution. He is at his best—and it is a good best—when he plays scenes down, almost to the naturalistic level, and when he can make the play seem primarily a domestic murder mystery. I have already said that I cannot take too seriously the parallel between Macbeth's fears and "the malady of our times." It *is* true, however, that Mr. Redgrave does make effective his stress upon what I suppose it would be proper to call the neurotic element in Macbeth's character. He seems to make the impossible and characteristic neurotic demand for absolute security almost the central fact of the personality, and to turn the whole action around the attitude suggested in the speech beginning "To be thus is nothing; /But to be *safely* thus—," and he does succeed thereby in stressing a pathological state of which psychology has made us acutely aware. The effect is certainly to "humanize" the character, to make Macbeth more pitiable than he usually appears. Perhaps that is also to make him less tragic in the grand sense, to stress pathos not ethos. But it is also to be, in this special way, very effective.

The reviews varied all the way from at least one "rave notice" to others which were rather less than tepid. My own reaction would be most accurately represented by something between the two. Certainly, I think the performance worth seeing—certainly, I do not think it an eternally memorable one. I should probably add that it might well be ardently recommended to those who belong to the apparently diminishing group of contemporary play-goers who do not like Shakespeare and do not like him for the reason so admirably suggested by the young girl in one of Mr. Odets's plays who complains, "The print's too small." This "Macbeth" is writ large and plain.

BOOKS BY BERTRAND RUSSELL

Bertrand Russell, the distinguished philosopher, mathematician, logician and Freethinker, recently said that he enjoyed writing booklets for E. Haldeman-Julius because he is given the fullest freedom of expression. In the books listed below Russell offers a feast of reason, information, logic, wit and rollicking humor. We present:

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Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

TWO of the more important artists of our time are now having a joint retrospective show at the Museum of Modern Art (through April 25). Whatever the final intrinsic value of their art, the Russian-born Antoine Pevsner and his younger brother, Naum Gabo, have already won themselves a focal place in the history of modern art by the new perspectives they have opened up to what used to be sculpture. They were the first to draw some of the most radical conclusions from cubism, not only in three-dimensional media, but also, in a sense, in painting. For their constructions, whose elements are confined exclusively to the curve and straight line, anticipated Mondrian's even narrower canon of forms. Nor does it take away from their achievement as pioneers that, working in sculpture, they were helped in the stride they took so swiftly and so far by the fact that sculpture in our society had by their time already become so much less burdened with tradition than painting, which the glorious accomplishments of a nearer past tended to make more conservative and mindful of precedent. Arduous enough was the task these brothers undertook in breaking with the millennia-old Western tradition of "torso," monolithic sculpture by following out their own deductions from cubism, unaided by the inspiration of barbaric and primitive art that stood Brancusi, Lipschitz, Gonzalez, and Giacometti in such good stead. But they broke away also with a cleanness that took them more quickly to the linear, openwork, pictorial, three-dimensional object in metal, plastic, or wood that is now supplanting the statue.

Pevsner and Gabo, it would appear, began "experimenting" some time between 1914 and 1918, but did not go ahead fast until the early twenties. The earliest work at the Museum of Modern Art is a "Plastic Bust" by Gabo dating from 1916, a fairly representational piece of statuary made up of little plastic flanges uniformly rectangular or semicircular in shape that reproduce the configurations of a very early cubist painting by Picasso or Braque. The only real originality here is the pictorial, wickerworklike openness of what is still basically a traditionally conceived piece.

The twenties saw, however, a more or less complete departure from representation and tradition, as the brothers produced works that established an altogether new genre in visual art—the abstract "construction," whose world of forms is closer to that of machinery and architecture than to that of nature, and whose constituent elements are restricted to the straight line and plotted curve of geometry. Gradually, all traces of representation are eliminated. Yet neither the absence of representation nor the geometrical forms are of the essence of this new genre; for subsequently, works of art that can be called nothing else but constructions have been produced—by Giacometti, Gonzalez, Arp, David Smith, and others—which are to some extent representational and incorporate non-geometrical, "organic" forms. What is of the essence is that the construction is no longer a statue, but rather a picture in three-dimensional space, and that the sculptor in the round is liberated from the necessity of observing the habits of gravity and mass, being free now to react to landscapes, panoramas, and architecture instead of to somatic forms alone. Thus sculpture, which in the Western Europe of antiquity and of the middle ages was the first to teach painting how to adhere to natural appearances, is now being taught by painting how to take liberties with appearances.

The restriction to geometrical forms has not cramped the art of the brothers Gabo and Pevsner as much as might have been anticipated. The differences of style and temperament between the two are immense. While Gabo confines himself largely to plastics, glass, and stone, his brother prefers metals and conceives on a greater scale—and is, in my opinion, much superior as an artist if not as an innovator. Gabo's objects, small in format and excessively limited by the notion of neatness entailed by the constructive aesthetic, exhaust themselves too often in the point they make of symmetry; and their lightness, fragility, and transparence tend to be mechanical rather than felt out, the automatic results of an aesthetic code that precipitates itself in repetitious arabesques akin to those of penmanship exercises. These weaknesses, the weaknesses of decoration, are made very evident in some small paintings by Gabo shown here.

Of course, I may be reacting to the shortcomings of Gabo's constructions simply because of the novelty of the idiom. In any case, one must look long at this new art and wait patiently for it to speak before venturing to render judgment. And indeed, several of Gabo's pieces do impress one better as time passes: particularly, the plastic-on-wood "Circular Relief" of 1925; the plastic and alabaster "Construction with Alabaster Carving" of 1938; and the plastic and cork "Construction in a Niche" of 1930. It may be that I liked these pieces especially because of their frontality, their affinity with the easel picture, which makes them easy to see from a single point of view. But I doubt it.

Though radical enough, Pevsner's idiom is less purist than his brother's—his genre is not so much the free-standing object as it is wall sculpture, bas-relief, most of his pictures being designed to hang on a wall and be looked at as a picture is. If Gabo's can be called rococo, Pevsner's far more passionate and ambitious art is Jacobean baroque, evolving in broad curves within

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a massive, square-set, rather monumental framework. Unlike his brother, Pevsner has developed and changed his style almost radically since the twenties: whereas Gabo has continued to work in terms of the measured cubist restraint and clarity from which both originally started, Pevsner has in the course of time become more emphatically expressive, and he now rolls and turns his sheets of metal into bristling and spiky shapes whose symmetry does not prevent them from achieving a contorted, un-constructivist violence. Unhappily, this violence frequently goes out of control and, except for the "Projection into Space" in tin and oxydized brass on plastic of 1938, nothing in the later work quite matches the perfection of the celluloid-on-zinc "Portrait of Marcel Duchamp" of 1926—no little of whose quality is owed to its cubist color harmony in reddish black, brown, and tan—and the celluloid and metal "Bust" of 1923-24. Already present in these works are Pevsner's great force, his ability to use color, and his unwillingness to content himself with the miniature felicities among which his brother has dallied. The fulness of Pevsner's force, if also its reluctance to be disciplined, is seen in the tin and brass "Fresco" of 1943-44, which is a masterpiece of *grande envergure*, overpowering in the way it captures its section of the wall and makes it bulge and open toward the spectator. I would also single out for praise the oxydized-tin, silver, ivory, and plastic "Construction" of 1935; the "Construction" in brass, oxydized tin, and baccarat crystal on a plastic base of 1933; the "Construction" in oxydized brass on plastic of 1935; and the "Spiral Construction" of 1944.

Pevsner's art becomes, the longer we gaze, a challenge in its totality—not only in its aesthetic, but also in what it says. The term "heroic" seems very applicable when we see how greatly this artist risks being misunderstood in his passionate and rigorous endeavor to persuade us to change the world so that it will correspond to our true and not our rationalized desires.

Frank W. Lewis's crossword puzzle has been omitted from this issue for lack of space. It will appear as usual next week.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

HERE is a report on some of the recent orchestral recordings.

Tchaikovsky's "Romeo and Juliet," performed by Toscanini with the N. B. C. Symphony (RCA Victor Set 1178, $4.75). A fine work; a beautiful performance, characteristic in its plastic coherence, and more effective than the usual performance of Tchaikovsky with its distorting overemphasis; excellent recording. One uncharacteristic detail of the performance may be noted; the faster pace of the *Allegro* when it is resumed at the beginning of side 4. The difference is small (160 on the metronome as against 152); but it is enough to produce the effect of rush; and in any case it is a curious exception to Toscanini's practice of maintaining a set tempo strictly.

Tchaikovsky's "Francesca da Rimini," performed by Koussevitzky with the Boston Symphony (RCA Victor Set 1179, $4.75). A lesser work, even with the beautiful music of the Paolo and Francesca episode, which is repeated too many times, and which Koussevitzky expands further; richly sonorous recording.

Mozart's Symphony in G minor, performed by Reiner with the Pittsburgh Symphony (Columbia Set MV-727, $6.85 on vinylite). An astonishingly fine performance, badly reproduced by these vinylite records; what sound the shellac records (Set M-727, $4.60) produce I don't know.

Handel's Water Music (arranged by Harty), performed by Basil Cameron with the London Philharmonic (English Decca Set 38, $5.25). Beautiful music, performance, and recorded sound, though with the usual English heaviness of bass.

Mozart's "Eine kleine Nachtmusik," performed by Klemperer with the Pro Musica Orchestra (Vox Set 169, $5.25 on vinylite). Good performance; good recording; one hears the surface of the records from which it was re-recorded.

Bach's "Brandenburg" Concerto No. 1, performed by Klemperer with the Pro Musica Orchestra (Vox Set 618, $7.35 on vinylite). The work is one of the series that I don't care much for; the performance is a good one of its sonorous, four-square kind, without the lightness, grace, and sensitiveness of inflection and rhythm of the old Busch performance; the recording is clear and bright (one hears the surface of the records from which it was re-recorded).

Bach's "Brandenburg" Concerto No. 2, performed by Klemperer with the Pro Musica Orchestra (Vox Set 619, $5.25 on vinylite). One of the engaging works in the series; performance and recording like those of No. 1, except that the records reproduce the work in F sharp instead of F major.

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